

Message Text

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61

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02 ACDA-05

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R 121738Z FEB 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 650

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 244

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USDEL SALT

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

USDOCOSOUTH

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 0927

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR XG PARM

SUBJECT: POLICY: MILITARY SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE: RELATIONSHIP
OF CSCE TO ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS IN EUROPE

SUMMARY: DURING CURRENT MILITARY SECURITY COMMITTEE DIS-
CUSSION OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CSCE AND PRESENT OR FUTURE
ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS IN EUROPE, NEUTRALS HAVE
PRESSED FOR CSCE RECOGNITION OF THEIR RIGHT TO BE IN-
FORMED ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS ELSEWHERE AND TO FEED BACK
THEIR VIEWS. ALLIES IN NATO CAUCUS ARE PREPARED TO
RECOGNIZE NEUTRALS' INTEREST IN OTHER NEGOTIATIONS,
BUT ARE UNCERTAIN HOW FAR THEIR CAPITALS CAN GO IN AC-
CEPTING ANY "FEEDBACK" PROVISIONS, AND HAVE AGREED TO
SEEK GUIDANCE. UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED, WE WILL
MAINTAIN FIRM OPPOSITION TO ATTEMPTS TO HAVE CSCE
SET RULES FOR EUROPEAN ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS,
PRESENT OR FUTURE, BUT WILL NOT OBJECT TO RECOGNITION
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OF EXISTING RIGHT OF ALL TO MAKE THEIR VIEWS KNOWN

TO OTHERS BILATERALLY THROUGH NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS.
END SUMMARY.

1. FOCUS OF MILITARY SUBCOMMITTEE AND NATO CAUCUS WORK
IN PAST WEEK HAS BEEN ON DRAFT TEXT TO IMPLEMENT PARAS
22 AND 24 OF HELSKINI RECOMMENDATIONS, IN PARTICULAR
TO SPELL OUT RELATIONSHIP OF CSCE TO ARMS CONTROL AND
DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS IN OR RELATING TO EUROPE--
I.E., MBFR AND SALT.

2. TEXT UNDER DISCUSSION WAS TABLED BY UK ON DECEMBER
18, AS RESULT OF SMALL GROUP DRAFTING EFFORT IN PREVIOUS
MONTHS, IN WHICH US DID NOT TAKE PART, AND CONTAINS
FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

A. INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH, APPLYING TO STATES ENGAGED
IN ARMS CONTROL/DISARMAMENT EFFORTS, ALONG LINES PARA
20A OF STATE 81134 (APR 74). DRAFT TEXT NOW CONFORMS
WITH US GUIDANCE EXCEPT FOR ISSUE STILL IN BRACKETS
WHETHER CSCE PARTICIPANTS WILL "PROCEED FROM " OR "TAKE
INTO ACCOUNT" THE FOLLOWING "PREMISES" OR "CONSIDERATIONS"

B. SUBPARAGRAPH ON RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL AND MILI-
TARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY.

C. SUBPARAGRAPH ON RELATIONSHIP OF INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL
SECURITH TO SECURITY IN EUROPE AS A WHILE, AND IN
BROADER CONTEXT RELATIONSHIP OF SECURITY IN EUROPE
TO SECURITY IN MEDITERRANENA.

D. SUBPARAGRAPH ON COMPATIBILITY BETWEEN STEPS TO PROMOTE DETENTE
AND DISARMAMENT WITH SECURITY OF ALL CSCE PARTICIPANTS.

E. A BLANK FOR A FOURTH SUBPARGRAPH, IN WHICH A
MORE SPECIFIC COMMITMENT BY STATES INVOLVED IN ARMS
CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS TOWARDS OTHER CSCE PARTICIPANTS
IN ENVISAGED.

3. WHILE DEBATE IN SUBCOMMITTEE HAS TO DATE BEEN NON-
PRODUCTIVE REPETITION OF IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
SOVIETS ON THE ONE HAND AND WEST AND NEUTRALS ON THE
OTHER, THE ALLIES IN NATO CAUCUS HAVE BEEN CONSIDERING
WHAT IN THE END MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE GUESTURES TOWARDS
NEUTRAL NON-PARTICIPANTS IN MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, FOR
EVENTUAL INCLUSION AS A FINAL SUBPARAGRAPH OF THE UK
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TEXT.

4. US REP IN CAUCUS DISCUSSIONS HAS STATED AS AUTHORI-
ZED IN PARA 1 OF STATE 230739 THAT WE COULD ACCEPT A
TEXT RECOGNIZING "THE INTEREST OF PARTICIPATING STATES
IN BEING KEPT INFORMED ABOUT RELEVANT DEVELOPMENTS IN
THE PROCESS OF PROMOTING DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT."
HOWEVER, NEUTRALS IN SUBCOMMITTEE HAVE ADDITIONALLY

PRESSED FOR A "FEEDBACK" PROVISION THAT WOULD RECOGNIZE THEIR RIGHT TO MAKE THEIR VIEWS KNOWN IN NEGOTIATIONS WHERE THEY ARE NOT PARTICIPANTS, AND CAUCUS REPS AGREED TO SEEK GUIDANCE ON AN ADDITION TO FINAL SUBPARAGRAPH WHICH WOULD READ"... AND TO MAKE THEIR VIEW KNOWN BEGIN BRACKETS THROUGH BILATERAL CHANNELS END BRACKETS BEGIN BRACKETS IN INSTANCES WHERE THEIR SECURITY MAY BE DIRECTLY INVOLVED END BRACKETS." CAUCUS WILL RETURN TO THIS DISCUSSION NEXT WEEK, HOPEFULLY WITH BENEFIT OF GUIDANCE FROM CAPITALS.

5. COMMENT: MAIN INTEREST OF NEUTRALS IS IN OUR JUDGEMENT TO PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM ANY UNDESIRABLE REPERCUSSIONS FROM MBFR, OR FROM MBFR-TYPE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE FUTURE, RATHER THAN FROM US-USSR STRATEGIC ARMS AGREEMENTS. JUDGING FROM CORRIDOR COMMENT, NEUTRALS ARE GENERALLY SATISFIED WITH PRESENT WORKING ARRANGEMENTS TO KEEP THEM INFORMED ABOUT MBFR, BUT ARE STILL CONCERNED THAT THEY MAY SOMEHOW END UP BEING THE INNOCENT POLITICAL VICTIMS OF BLOC-TO-BLOC ARRANGEMENTS WORKED OUT IN VIENNA. (MALTESE AMB. GAUCI OBSERVED IN SUBCOMMITTEE, FOR INSTANCE, THAT THERE WAS NO REFERENCE TO INTERESTS OF NEUTRALS IN CHRISTMAS BREAK PRESS CONFERENCES HELD BY ALLIES AND PACK IN VIENNA IN MID-DECEMBER.) IDEALLY NEUTRALS WOULD LIKE ACKNOWLEDGED RIGHT TO APPEAR AND SPEAK AT EUROPEAN ARMS CONTROL CONFERENCES (IN PARTICULAR ANY FUTURE ONES, SINCE PRESENT MBFR ARRANGEMENTS ARE A RECOGNIZED FAIT ACCOMPLI), BUT US REP AND OTHERS HAVE MADE CLEAR OUR VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE AND UNWISE FOR CSCE TO ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH RULES OR PROCEDURES FOR PRESENT OR FUTURE CONFERENCES. ON OTHER HAND, NON-PARTICIPANTS ARE NOW AND WILL REMAIN FREE TO ADDRESS INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS IN OTHER NEGOTIATIONS
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BILATERALLY THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, AND WE SEE NO DANGER IN RECOGNIZING THIS PRIVILEGE IN CSCE TEXT. UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED WE WILL STATE IN FORTHCOMING CAUCUS THAT WE COULD ACCEPT AN ADDITION TO FOURTH SUBPARAGRAPH ALONG LINES IN PARA 4 ABOVE, AS LONG AS ESSENTIAL QUALIFIER "THROUGH BILATERAL CHANNELS" OR A CLEAR STATEMENT TO THE SAME EFFECT REMAINS IN FINAL TEXT. AS FOR BRACKETED PORTION "IN INSTANCES WHERE THEIR SECURITY MAY BE DIRECTLY INVOLVED," WE SEE NO NEED FOR THIS ADDITIONAL, DISPUTATIOUS QUALIFICATION (OF SOVIET ORIGIN), BUT WILL NOT OBJECT IF OTHER ALLIES WISH TO RETAIN IT FOR TACTICAL PURPOSES FOR THE TIME BEING. END COMMENT.DALE

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